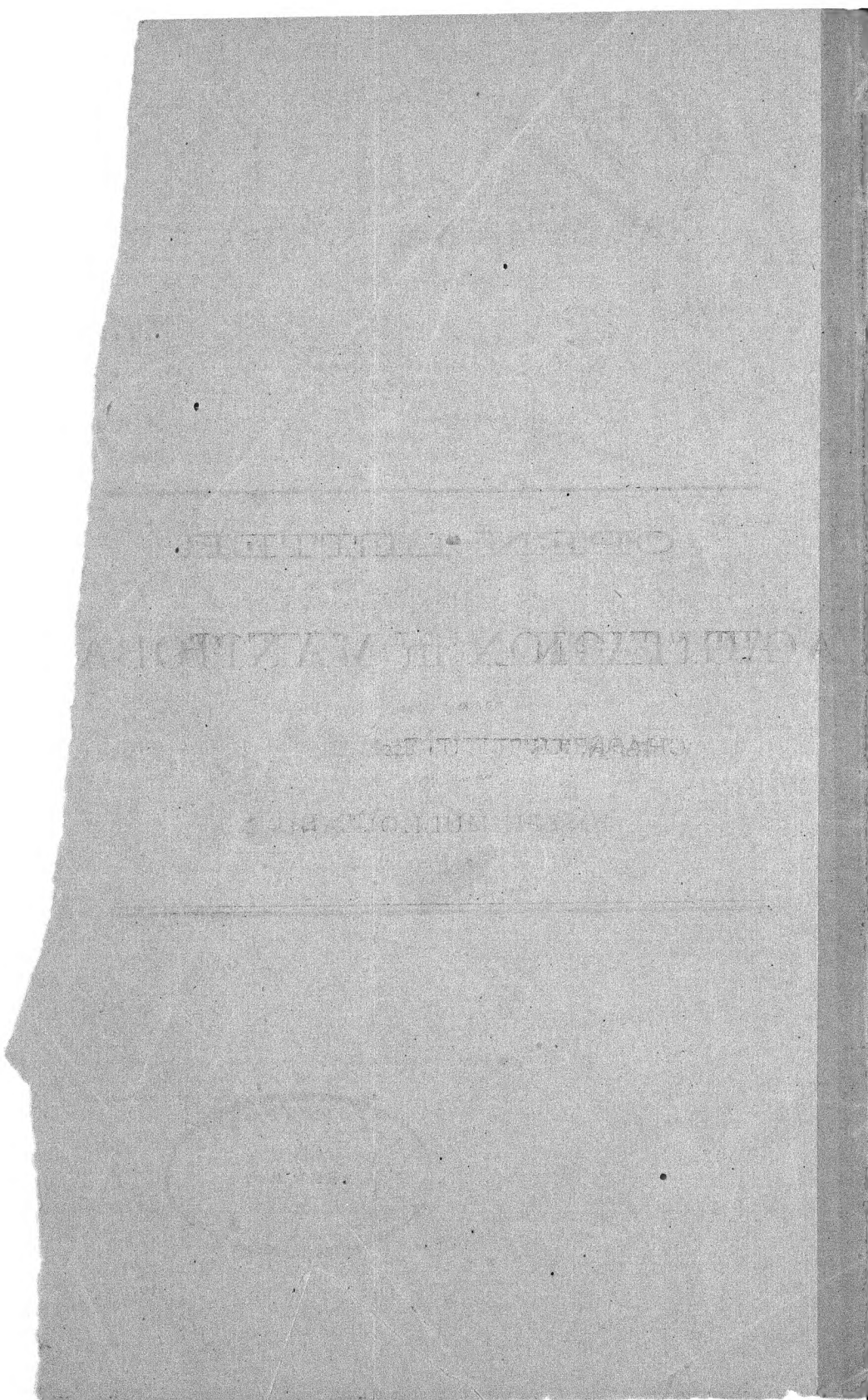


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Effort

OPEN LETTER
— ON THE —
AGITATION in MANITOBA

FROM
CHAS. R. TUTTLE, Esq.,
— TO —
JOSEPH MULHOLLAND, Esq.,
OF WINNIPEG.





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The Agitation in Manitoba.

JOSEPH MULHOLLAND, Esq.,

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

SIR,—Allow me to make your remarks at the meeting of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, held on Tuesday the 4th inst., the occasion of addressing you an open letter. My object in taking this liberty is two-fold; first, to convey to you the appreciation of all Manitobans now in Ottawa, of the good sense of your statements, and, secondly, to discuss some of the questions to which your brief address gives rise.

The *Winnipeg Free Press* of the 5th instant contains the following report of your remarks on that occasion:—

“Mr. Joseph Mulholland expressed himself as decidedly of the opinion that it would be unwise for the Board, which was looked upon as an authority in all matters pertaining to trade and commerce, to send delegates to the convention. He regarded the movement essentially a political one, and as having proceeded from a political source, though it had been fanned into considerable proportions. He thought it might be very much to the interest of the country to have the Hudson's Bay route and to have branch lines opened up so that no farmer would have to bring his grain more than twenty miles to market, also to have the public lands, and the extension of the boundaries, but held that if the Province had everything asked for and was left to its own resources, it would be in a worse position than now, while aided by a powerful Dominion Government. He believed the Province would find itself entirely incapable of such a gigantic undertaking as building a Hudson's Bay railway, and that the delay would be much greater under the Provincial than under the Dominion Government. Though there was now great excitement it would die out entirely in a few months. It was a curious circumstance that the prominent men of Winnipeg had not been at the meeting last evening. He had observed that Hon. Mr. Norquay was almost entirely unsupported. The present agitation he regarded as entirely political, and run by a clique. The men who were at its head had never been heard of before, with a few exceptions. All were anxious that Manitoba should get everything that rightly and properly belonged to it, but this should be left to the Provincial and Dominion Governments, and not left to be taken up by a lot of shyshtering politicians. He thought it would be lowering the dignity of the Board of Trade of Winnipeg to send delegates to any such convention.”

These remarks of yours were made upon a motion to appoint delegates to represent the Board of Trade at the “Farmer's Convention,” which commenced its deliberations in Winnipeg on the 5th inst.; and they reflect all the more credit upon you, as they indicate a bold, manly, independent stand taken in the midst of a disastrous agitation. If Manitoba had had one or two men in each settlement where inflammatory meetings have been held, em-

bracing the views which you have enunciated, with the courage you have displayed, to manfully express them, the Province might have been saved the shameful disgrace and almost incalculable injury which the agitators have brought upon it.

Now, Sir, let me briefly review the situation in the North-West, and point out some of the evil results of the present agitation.

THE HUDSON'S BAY ROUTE.

The measures proposed to open this route, are uppermost in the minds of the people of Manitoba, and as a discussion of them will give rise to the questions of Boundary Extension, Control of Public Lands, etc. I will refer to them in their order.

Two charters were obtained for the construction of lines of railway to Hudson's Bay several years ago, but at that time, the people in the North-West took but little interest in the question. The Canadian Pacific Railway had not then crossed the Red River, and public attention was wholly absorbed by that enterprise. The charters then obtained came into the hands, sometime afterwards,—that from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay, of the Sutherland party, and that from some point near the Great Saskatchewan, where the Canadian Pacific Railway was expected to run, to Hudson's Bay, of the MacArthur party. At the last session of the Dominion Parliament (1882-3) an Act was passed to enable these two Companies or parties to amalgamate, but up to the present hour the disposition of their respective leaders to monopolize the controlling offices, has prevented a union.

The position assumed by these Companies, at the present time has what I may properly call, a political significance. The MacArthur party have wheeled into line with the Manitoba Government, while the Sutherland party are supposed to be acting in harmony with the Manitoba supporters of the Dominion Government. The following telegrams, which explain themselves, fully reveal this:—

OTTAWA, March 4th.

TO DUNCAN MACARTHUR, Winnipeg.

Sutherland agrees to amalgamation; you and himself to be vice-presidents; both to agree on a president, failing in which Dominion Government to appoint; president to hold sufficient stock for balance of power. Immediate

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action necessary. We both think this best arrangement possible.

W. N. KENNEDY.
A. W. ROSS.

WINNIPEG, March 4th.

To W. N. KENNEDY and A. W. ROSS, Ottawa.

I agree to proposition on condition that right to appoint president be vested in Government of Manitoba.

DUNCAN MACARTHUR.

The agitation in Manitoba in reference to the question, so far as it can be understood in Ottawa, is that the people demand,

1. The immediate construction of a Hudson's Bay road.
2. They have no confidence in the permanent independence of a private company.
3. They demand that the Provincial Government shall be the controlling power.
4. And for that purpose they demand the extension of the Manitoba boundaries northward.
5. And, this being granted, the Provincial Government propose to obligate the Province in a debt to the extent of fifteen or twenty millions of dollars in aid of the undertaking, on the condition that the Administration of the day shall control the affairs of the Company.
6. Provided, I suppose, that the unclaimed lands in the Province are ceded to the Provincial authorities.

The position taken by the Sutherland party, and so far as I can learn, by the supporters of the Federal Administration is this:—

1. They urge also the immediate construction of a Hudson's Bay road, together with the equipment of a line of steamships to operate between Churchill and Liverpool, in connection therewith.
2. That this be undertaken by English capital, aided by a free Government land grant of 12,800 acres per mile.
3. That the controlling power be vested in the Company and the Dominion Government.
4. And they believe it would be unwise for the Manitoba authorities to burden the Province with a large debt in aid of the road.

It is generally understood that the Dominion Government favor the latter method, and are doing all they can, consistently, to bring about an amalgamation of the two companies; and failing in this, the land grant will be given to the Company which produces evidence of the greatest financial ability.

There is another aspect in which the Hudson's Bay project is viewed by a very large number of members on both sides of the Dominion House. It is this, the navigation of the Hudson's Bay and Straits, for successful commercial operations has not yet been fully established, and while they generally believe in the practicability of the route, they enjoy but little faith in any company being able to float the enterprise in any money market, until our knowledge of that navigation is increased.

The evidence given, so far, before the select committee of the House, which is quite voluminous, while giving grounds for strong hopes of four, or even five months' navigation, gives positive assurances of only three months' navigation. The records in possession of the world, so far as they have come to light, place the average date of successfully entering the Straits at about the tenth or twelfth of July, and give accounts of pretty good navigation from that date up to the first or fifteenth of October. Some seasons have been much shorter. Only one or two longer have been recorded. However, it is believed—and with good reason—that the season of navigation is much more extended, perhaps during the whole year, but this has not been established. Hence the movement to send out an expedition to watch the Straits for one or two years, at the expense of the Dominion Government. Persons who are most enthusiastic about the "immediate construction of the road" should ask themselves the question, where is the money to come from until the question of the navigation of the harbor and straits for a season sufficiently long to make a road practicable, is fully settled?

Now as to the relative merits of the two schemes above referred to, it is a little unfortunate that the Provincial Government, and the supporters of the Dominion Administration, should be arrayed against each other on a question so vitally affecting the interests of the Province. I cannot avoid thinking that this unhappy position is largely due to the over aggressive stand so recently taken by the Hon. Mr. Norquay and his followers.

The Dominion Government would not likely oppose the desire of the local authorities to run the Province into debt on behalf of the Hudson's Bay route. And I suppose they would even meet Mr. Norquay so far as to grant legislation enabling him to do so, but, all the same, it would be none the less objectionable on that account. The men who oppose such a useless measure, will have to endure the scorn of the agitators, just now,

but, in less than two years, they will receive the thanks of the people of the whole Province.

Let us suppose that the Manitoba Government will be enabled to carry out their supposed desire to guarantee the interest or principal or both, of Hudson's Bay railway bonds, to the extent of \$20,000,000 (for a less sum with the land grant will not be sufficient to open the route.) What will be the result? At five per cent., even, these bonds will call for \$1,000,000 annually for interest alone. The land grant may be roughly estimated at 9,000,000 acres. Allowing that this grant would cost the Company nothing, and yield, over and above the expenses of administration, \$1.50 an acre (which is an estimate much too high on one-half the proposed grant) the total product of the lands would be but \$13,500,000. These lands could not be handed over except as the road was completed in sections, and the yield therefrom to the Company while the line was in progress of construction, say for three years, would not exceed \$300,000 the first, \$500,000 the second, and \$750,000 the third year.

The outlay of the Company during the three years of construction, assuming that the line could be completed within that time, and ready for operation at the end of the third year, would be \$20,000,000. Now, admitting that the Company could discharge its interest, construction, and equipment obligations from the proceeds of its bonds and land grant during the three years of construction, its position for the fourth year would be this: The Company would have the earnings of its road and the yield of its land grant with which to meet its interest and other obligations. For the first year, at any rate, the line could not be expected to more than pay working expenses, possibly not that. Therefore, if the proceeds of the land grant, that year, did not exceed \$1,000,000 by a considerable sum, the Government guaranteeing the bonds would be called upon to meet the deficiency.

From this rough estimate, if the figures are at all within the mark, it will be seen that the Hudson's Bay scheme is eminently practicable as a commercial enterprise, that is provided at least four months of uninterrupted navigation are available annually, of which there can be but little, if any doubt.

But will some one point out the necessity of the Provincial Government entering into partnership with a Hudson's Bay Railway Company, with nothing to gain except an enormous debt to burden the people for a

generation to come. The work will, there is no doubt, go forward without such partnership. But the MacArthur party say that the road must be under Provincial Government control to prevent its falling into the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. There are few people, it seems to me, who will prefer to trust the local Government rather than the Federal authorities in this matter. Let Parliament prevent by legislation, any pooling or amalgamation arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and provide also that the Governor-in-Council shall appoint the first President of the Company, such President to hold the balance of power between the present contending parties.

It may be that one of these parties expect to control not only the road, but the Local Government as well. If so, we have an explanation of their anxiety to transfer the balance of power to Mr. Norquay's administration. The same cannot be said, with as much reason, respecting such transfer to the Federal Authorities. If it is urged that the proposal to make over the road to the Provincial Government is in order to secure a guarantee from that quarter, it may be stated, in reply, that no guarantee is required. As soon as the present companies cease to fight one another, and settle upon a basis of union, or if the Government favor either of them, with the consolidated land grant, the money will be forthcoming, and the work of constructing the road will go forward, and the people of Manitoba will gain the much needed relief by this route as speedily as if the Province had involved itself in a debt of \$20,000,000.

NORTHWARD EXTENSION.

The question of the extension of the boundaries of the Province to Hudson's Bay is an important one. Manitoba must have a port on that great inland sea, and ought to have another at Thunder Bay. There is no doubt whatever of the ultimate extension of the limits so as to take in the former, but it is not likely that the necessary legislation will be enacted the present session, the enlargement is asked, confessedly, for the purpose of enabling Manitoba to grant Railway legislation to a Hudson's Bay Railway Company, and the request comes at a time when active operations are about to commence by one or both of the Companies chartered by the Dominion Parliament. If Parliament extended the boundaries of Manitoba to the Hudson's Bay this session, the Provincial Legislature might, if it saw fit, create another Hudson's Bay Railway Company, and guarantee its bonds,

and, in that case, what would become of the companies chartered by the Federal power. The Dominion Government have shown earnestness in their aid to the Hudson's Bay road, by the extensive land grant given, and it is not fair to suppose that they will extend the boundaries of Manitoba, in order to create opposition to the companies which they have helped to create, and heavily subsidized, especially when it is remembered that there is no immediate necessity for the Northward extension. It is but just that the companies already in existence should have a fair trial, and, until they consent to be placed in the hands of the Manitoba Government the Federal Authorities would not be justified in forcing it upon them :—

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The people of Manitoba have, on every occasion when an opportunity has been afforded, given expression to the opinion that the unclaimed lands within the Province should be placed at the disposal of the Provincial Government. It would seem that after all appropriations of lands in Manitoba made by the Dominion Government up to this date are fully satisfied, the remaining sections should be given to the Province. Of course the even numbered sections should be held subject always to free homestead entry, so that the only object the local authorities can have in obtaining control of them is to facilitate immigration and settlement in the Province. It may be fairly reasoned that these lands could be more advantageously administered by a Government resident in Manitoba.

Regarding the odd numbered sections it is quite different. These would be a considerable source of revenue of which Manitoba stands sorely in need. It was stated a few days ago that the Federal Government had decided to transfer the odd numbered sections to the Manitoba authorities, but a question has arisen in connection with this matter that has caused considerable discussion. There are those who believe in these lands being retained by the Federal Government, and administered by them on behalf of Manitoba. It is thought that, as the machinery for their sale and settlement is already in successful operation, it would be unwise to make a change. Such persons think that as long as the proceeds of the sale of these lands, less actual outlay connected with administration, are paid over to Manitoba annually, the Province would be fully satisfied on that point; but I suppose the gentlemen in and connect-

ed with the Local Government who wish to enjoy the patronage attached to the administration of Crown Lands, would not be pleased with the arrangement. It seems to me that a majority of the people would favor the latter scheme, at least until we have an improved Provincial Government. That Mr. Norquay is an obstacle to the public business of Manitoba is clear enough to those who take the trouble to look into the question. He has done a good deal and is entitled to the thanks of the people for what he has accomplished, but he is unequal to the work now before the Government, and unless he gives way to some one who will not be constantly vacillating and veering with every little wind of agitation, the Province cannot hope for much success in its public affairs.

EVILS OF THE AGITATION.

But I wish to draw your attention to the evils which have resulted from the agitation now pervading Manitoba—evils from which the Province will not fully recover for the next five years. And, at the outset, let me say that the direct injury to the North-West from the unfortunate, misguided agitation headed by the promoters of the Farmers' Convention cannot be over-estimated.

Our people are crying aloud for the construction of the Manitoba & South-Western Railway, and yet they have thwarted every effort which has been put forth to obtain the funds necessary for extending that line. Last summer arrangements were made with a heavy financial firm in Scotland for the sale of 500,000 acres of land belonging to the grant of the South-Western Company, and an agent was sent out here to make necessary investigations. He reported about three weeks ago, all right as to the quality and location of the lands, but advised against the investment on the grounds that the agitation in Manitoba would stop immigration and impair their value. Here is a direct injury—one that comes home with lamentable force to the settlers of Southern Manitoba. Since then the Company have appealed to the Dominion Government for aid with which to carry on the extension of that line, setting forth the cause of their failure to obtain money in foreign markets for the reasons which I have given.

Another instance is found in the almost certain failure of the promoters of the "Bank of Winnipeg." Last summer negotiations for a capital of \$5,000,000 for this institution were completed, but the ruinous agitation has

caused the English parties investing the money to withdraw from the undertaking until affairs in Manitoba have become settled.

The Manitoba and North-Western Railway Company, although pulling along slowly, are so greatly embarrassed in the foreign markets, that they will not be able to extend their line over half as far this year as they would have been in a position to do had not the blighting influence of the agitation been felt.

Look, also, at the Great North-West Land Company, what is their position to-day? The stock of the concern has reached a wretchedly low figure, and there is no demand for it at any price. They cannot find a market for their lands, and unless a change for the better sets in, this great enterprise will culminate in one of the most gigantic failures connected with the development of the Canadian North-West.

The Bell Farming Company, which has manifested great courage and zeal, are growing weak under the ruinous interference of the unpatriotic clique, and are now looking for purchasers in England in order to relieve themselves of their great farm.

In a word, nearly every Colonization Company has been paralyzed by the agitation; and how could it be otherwise? A convention of the farmers and others in Manitoba, now in session at Winnipeg, has advertised to the world such resolutions as the following:—

"Therefore, be it resolved: That this convention hereby petition the Premier (Hon. Mr. Norquay) at once to declare, by resolution of the House of Assembly, that this Province shall no longer continue a member of the Federal Union unless accorded equal privileges with the other partners of the Confederation—and a modification of those duties which press so heavily on the agricultural interests.

"And further, that an appeal be made to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and to her Privy Council to so amend the B. N. A. Act as to allow of Manitoba withdrawing from Confederation, and graciously to allow of this country being a colony of Great Britain, with a separate constitution, separate laws, and with a Governor of its own;

"And this Convention further pledges itself to sustain the Premier in this course of action by any means in its power; and feels sure that the people of this Province will support them in securing that independence and freedom so dear to every British subject."

"That, in the opinion of the Convention, the burdens laid on the people of Manitoba are so great that agricultural operations cannot be made to yield a fair profit; that emigration, before the removal of these burdens, will benefit neither the Province nor the emigrants; and that this Convention cannot advise emigrants to settle in the Province till full redress of the grievances complained of by this Convention shall have been obtained."

The result of all this is plain. The immigration to the North-West, so far as this year is concerned, at least, has been totally destroyed. The districts south of the international boundary line will reap the benefit, and our

own country must suffer at the hands of our own people. This is a circumstance that Canadians cannot well be proud of—one that the ringleaders of the unfortunate agitation would be heartily ashamed of, had they left within their hearts one spark of loyalty to the Dominion of Canada, or one feeling of true patriotism.

It is an instance of how completely a set of people can sink their country's good in order to promote unworthy political considerations. They tell us their movement is non-political! non-partisan! It is the worst kind of political intrigue, and the most damnable party strategy, because it is factious, fanatical and insurrectionary. God grant that in this hour of Manitoba's peril, there may come to the front, men loyal and true—men who cannot be daunted by the cowardly intimidations of radical fanatics—men who dare to brook insult, and injury if need be—in an effort to deliver the Province from a blight of disloyal agitation, a thralldom of political iniquity.

There are men in the very fore-front of the movement—men playing upon the more or less just grievances of the community—who care no more for the integrity of Confederation, or the interests of a Canadian nationality, than the wild mob now gathered round Osman Digma at Handooob. I would that they were awaiting a similar fate. That the movement contains a host of honest agitators, there can be no doubt—men who feel and know that they are laboring under disadvantages which it is within the power of the Government to remove—men who believe they are acting for the best interests of Manitoba, but they have been drawn into a tide of almost insurrectionary agitation started by a class of men who have designs beyond the redress of farmers' grievances, and who are bent upon disrupting Confederation.

MR. NORQUAY AND THE MOVEMENT.

The great difficulty with the Manitoba Premier is that he is neither a policy maker, nor a leader of public opinion. He is rather the borrower of one and the dupe of the other. What has been his conduct towards this agitation? Simply that of a man who does not possess the decision to support it, nor the courage to speak against it. If Honorable John Norquay had been a man fit to guide the affairs of state in Manitoba,—if he had been possessed of any degree of true courage,—he would have gone to the Convention, and pointed out to them, in a dispassionate manner, the grievances of the people of Manitoba,

and the proper methods to be employed in obtaining redress. He would have gone further. He would have denounced the two resolutions, which I have quoted above, as calculated not only to thwart the professed objects of the Convention, but as directly suicidal to the welfare of the whole North-West. But a man who was either coquetting with the leaders of the movement, or too weak to openly denounce their mistakes, was not likely to take such a stand. Neglecting this, he allowed an opportunity to pass, available for the performance of one of the most important duties devolving upon a public man,—a duty which, well performed, would have done very much to destroy the ruinous effects of those resolutions abroad, and perhaps have brought the more troublesome agitators to their senses.

HON. MR. NORQUAY'S CONDUCT AT OTTAWA.

I have already alluded to this subject in a letter to the *Winnipeg Daily Sun*, and the statements I then made remain uncontradicted. You will remember the remarks of Mr. Purvis, Secretary of the Farmers' Union, before the Convention on Thursday, March 6th, in his verbal report of the mission of the Farmers' delegates to Ottawa. He said:—

On arriving there (Ottawa) they had taken the earliest opportunity of waiting upon the members from Manitoba in the Senate and in the House of Commons, read to them the resolutions of the Union, and asked them how far they were willing to support them. Mr. Royal felt that there were certain disabilities under which this Province was placed; and, although he considered the resolutions a little extreme, was willing to support the delegates so far as they were disposed to act constitutionally. Mr. Ross was most anxious to support them in every possible way, and introduced them to the prominent members of the House of Commons. Capt. Scott was also disposed to assist them. They found that Hon. Mr. Norquay seemed to be under the impression that the members of the House of Commons considered him as infringing to a certain extent upon their privileges as representatives of Manitoba. After discussing the whole question with him the delegates were very much pleased that he expressed himself as willing and most anxious to work with them in every way. It was then arranged that they should see the Manitoba members and, if possible, produce a joint memorial to be submitted by Mr. Norquay. There was a distinct understanding that the Premier would take this course, but at a subsequent meeting with him the delegates were much disappointed to find that his memorial had been sent in. It was with considerable difficulty that they afterwards gathered from him the substance of his memorial, as he had placed it before the meeting on Monday evening. Although it had been stated that his memorial covered the ground of the farmers' resolution completely, yet there was one important omission, that of the clause regarding compensation for lands sold or used for federal purposes. There was also nothing in his memorial, introductory letter, or addendum regarding branch lines of railway. The speaker would not express an opinion as to the conduct of the Manitoba members, but thought it would be unreasonable that they should be expected to be willing to become parties to Mr. Norquay's failure, in view of the manner in which he had treated them.

I wish to call particular attention to the last sentence in Mr. Purvis' remarks as given above, and to correct him only by stating that, notwithstanding the manner in which Mr. Norquay treated them, which was most unstatesmanlike, they (the members) continued to give him all the aid they possibly could, whenever he gave them an opportunity of doing so.

In nearly all of Mr. Norquay's dealings with the Federal Government, he has been singularly unreliable. Take his record in this respect for the past five years, and I will only refer to a few of the salient points. He commenced in 1879, by an agreement with Sir John that his Government would not meddle with matters of railway legislation until the Central Government's Pacific Railway policy had been matured, but in a few months after he granted railway charters which were afterwards necessarily disallowed.

In the beginning of 1881, when the Syndicate bargain was before Parliament, Mr. Norquay moved in the Manitoba Legislature, a resolution, seconded by his then Attorney-General, which was carried, condemning many of the provisions of the contract. A few days afterwards his signature headed a memorial to Sir John, signed by over two hundred Winnipeggers, approving of the Canadian Pacific Railway bargain.

Later, again, when the Manitoba terms were re-adjusted, and Mr. Norquay obtained a special grant of \$45,000 annually in lieu of public lands, he gave his promise to Sir John and the sub-committee of the Privy Council that he would not open the public lands question for three years. In less than a year after he was appealing to the Province to be again returned at the head of the Local Government on the question of the immediate acquirement of the unclaimed lands, and followed this by pressing the claim upon the Government here, a few weeks ago, in violation of his agreement. For this he was suitably taken to task by the proper party, and exposed face to face with those whom he had secured to aid him on the occasion.

One year ago Mr. Norquay effected the passage of a resolution in the legislature providing, on behalf of Manitoba, for an Inter-Provincial Conference, or Convention of Provincial Premiers, confessedly for the purpose of re-opening the terms of Confederation, on the pretext of getting better terms for Manitoba. The Conference did not take place. This was only one of the many changes in the local Premier's political career.

Mr. Norquay's connection with the Provincial Conservative Convention of 1882 was another glaring piece of inconsistency. He subscribed to the platform of that convention which recommended an immediate re-distribution of the electoral seats, with increased representation for the western portion of Manitoba. That platform urged such re-distribution previous to the general elections, and the Premier agreed with the proposition, but notwithstanding this, he dissolved the House a few weeks after, and brought on the elections, ignoring his engagements in regard to increased and equitable representation for the west.

I might mention a dozen other breaches of faith committed by Mr. Norquay against the Federal Government, and the people of Manitoba, but do not wish to stir the already over-turbulent waters of Manitoba politics. Enough of his vascilation is known to warrant the statement that his usefulness as leader of the Government is gone. Some man should be found to take his place, whose engagements with the Federal authorities can be relied upon, and whose decision and foresight would enable him to follow one course sufficiently long, that his supporters would not have to change their views semi-annually in order to keep in line with their leader.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

In conclusion, let me draw your attention to what ought to be apparent to every one, is the duty of the hour. Manitoba's grievances have been greatly magnified and misrepresented. The people are suffering from causes many of which are uncontrollable, such as the frosts of last fall, the general depression of trade, etc., and these are used as grounds of complaint against the Government, while some of the so-called "demands" made by the Convention are not only unjust, but of small concern. For instance, the proposition to extend the boundaries northward, just at this time, would, if granted, do nothing towards improving the situation, and yet some hot-headed agitators would break up Confederation, had they the power, over this demand.

The Province should accept the situation, and put a stop at once to an agitation, the results of which will rest as a curse upon Manitoba for at least five years. The quicker it is put an end to the better. Enough damage has already been done, surely, to satisfy the wild, unpatriotic ambition of the fanatics, and if our future prospects are not to be wholly destroyed, peace, amity and good

will between all parties must be restored immediately.

If, through the instrumentality of the Manitoba members, the Province obtains, as it probably will:

1. The odd-numbered sections of unclaimed lands.
2. The consolidated land grant free, to the Hudson's Bay Railway.
3. The benefits of an immediate expedition to Hudson's Bay and Straits, on behalf of the proposed Hudson's Bay road.
4. An increased subsidy, to be re-adjusted every two and a half years, upon an approximated population, based upon a census every five years.
5. Extension of time and liberality to those whose pre-emption payments are now due.
6. Substantial encouragement to local railways.

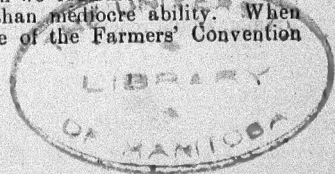
If these concessions, and perhaps others, are obtained, the people can well afford to be satisfied, in view of the fact that nearly \$30,000,000 have been granted in order to complete the Canadian Pacific within two years. To be sure the "demands"

1. For control of the school lands,
2. For abolition of impost duties,
3. For indiscriminate connection with United States railways, to the detriment of Canada,
4. For Hudson's Bay extension,

may not be complied with, at present; but the school lands cannot be transferred under the circumstances, and although the increase of duty on agricultural implements last year, was rather a mistake, we should not expect deferential duties in favor of any particular Province. As to the third, the monopoly clause, that is to be wiped out upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific road, and the boundaries will be extended to Hudson's Bay quite as soon as will be of any material advantage to Manitoba.

Let us inaugurate an era of peace and good will. Let the agitators return to their homes and busy themselves with some employment productive of good to the Province, and to their families. Let business men counsel patience and common sense, and by all proper means discountenance and discourage the inflammatory prattle of irresponsible men.

But Mr. Norquay's indefiniteness is to abide with him throughout his political career. He cannot shake it off, and this is the more wonderful when we remember that he is a man of more than mediocre ability. When the Committee of the Farmers' Convention



met him he could not tell which side he was on. He manifested sympathy with their movement generally, but would not consent to become their champion. He was glad to receive the support of the Convention, but could not exactly pledge himself to its platform. This was but repeating his conduct towards the Convention of 1882. It was but another manifestation of his vascillation, his indecision, his shilly-shallying, which have made his administration a monument of the politics of expediency.

On the 3rd instant, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, believing that Mr. Norquay had decided to cast in his lot with the Grit party—a desired result which the promoters of the Convention had in view from the first—said,—

“Mr. Norquay neither can nor will accept the insulting ‘terms of settlement’ offered; and the people of Manitoba will stand at his back until he has wrested from the Government every concession to which Manitoba is entitled.”

On the 3rd of March, as you have seen, the *Free Press* votes unqualified confidence in the local Premier. He is to be the people’s leader, or, to be plainer, the instrument, along with the agitation Convention, by which the Grits in Manitoba are to come into power.

On the 8th instant, the *Free Press* said:—

“The people have not at the present time, the strongest confidence in Mr. Norquay. He has been afforded this additional opportunity, more through the graces of the angel of good fortune that seems to watch over his political destiny, than through any inclination of the Convention to put further faith in him.”

Behold, what a change! Five days, how short the period that divides the two positions! O, what a Premier! or, what a *Free Press*! or, what politics!

Changing! Changing! Ever Changing!
Faith in man is broken;
Pledges making! Pledges breaking!
This, John Norquay’s token.

This is not poetry, but one cannot help rhyming over such a burlesque of statesmanship. The change is not in the *Free Press*. The iron-willed Grit war-horse at the head of that journal does not change easily. The change is with the Hon. John, the Champion Changer of Canada. He must have led the *Free Press* to believe that he was going to break away from his Tory followers, upon whom he cannot much longer depend for support in any event. And the only wonder is that a man of the editor’s experience of the Premier would renew his long-lost confidence

in him. But he did so, and has been betrayed, just as all have been treacherously betrayed who have been unfortunate enough to put faith in his political promises. It remains for the Conservative local members to say how much longer they will tolerate, at the head of affairs, a man whose greatest political energy is always displayed by drifting lazily in a swift current.

I am not competent to advise, but it seems to me that the Conservative members of the Legislature, both French and English, could not do better than place Dr. Harrison, of Minnedosa, at their head, if he will accept the leadership, and rally round him in the cause of moderation and good government.

In the midst of the general depression, consolation is to be had from a contemplation of what has already been accomplished, and from the prospect of an improvement in the near future. It is scarcely five years since the Dominion Government commenced the work of the development of the North-West; and, who is able to estimate the value and extent of what has been accomplished. The Government that have carried us thus far, will carry the country through the depression, and with the completion of the trans-continental road, returning prosperity will reward our patience and compensate our loyalty.

Yours truly,

C. R. TUTTLE.

OTTAWA, 12th March, 1884.

P. S.—Since the above was in type, I see by the press, that the people of Winnipeg are moving with a view to counteracting the injurious effects of the agitation convention. This is commendable, but action should have been taken about the time the Winnipeg Board of Trade disgraced itself by sending delegates to it. However, we must make the best of a bad situation now, and do all that can be done to overtake the blighting influences set in motion by the hot-headed agitators. But do what you will, there can be no safety from those bloodhounds in the future unless a better set of men can be found to take the place of the present incompetent Local Administration.

